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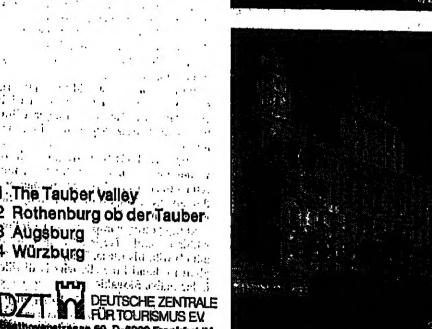
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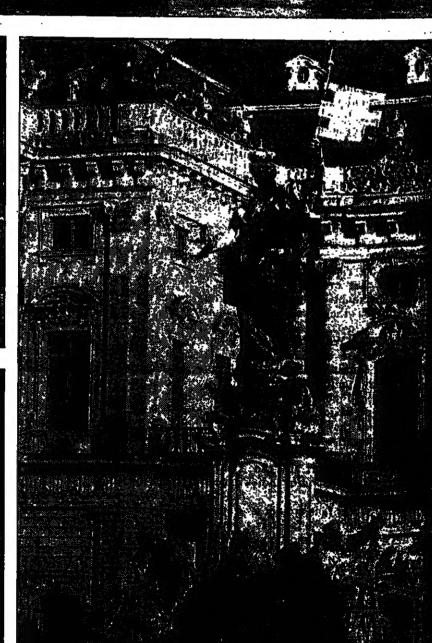
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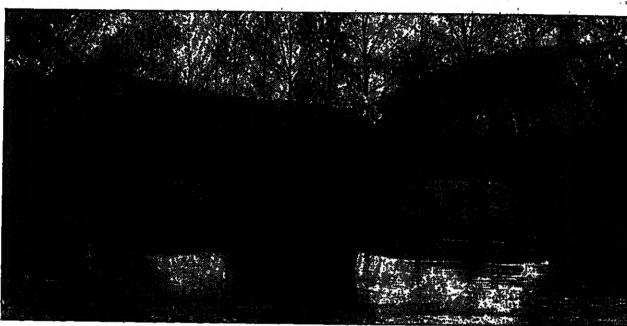
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A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

Nato stands firm on missiles decision

st the Nato plan to station

onference in Brussels. The strongly reaffirmed both parts s-and-talks resolution pus-

a show of unity among the

past few years the Soviet onstantly increased its consuperiority and its naval ind it has heightened its nu-

THIS ISSUE ida lo lose a voto

Naio countries have stood by hed hand policy. They reto talk and are keen to use ty opportunity of coopera-

ubt is left that if the Genes break down Nato will go artly redress the balance by 572 Pershing 2s and Cruise

Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher, the Brussels unique of the Nato Foreign conference was a document termination and openness. again signalled to the new Mr Andropov, its readihis prepared to talk about

Position is crystal-clear. It can

Acept dispensing with missile ca's own skin. Mon if the Soviet Union mair-concessions.

being determined to go ahead with it if need be.

This position was first stipulated by former Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. To call it unnecessarily into question, as some members of Herr Schmidt's party, the Social Democrats, are now doing, is to harm Nato and to encourage the Russians to mark time in

If, instead, Moscow came to terms with Nato's stand and President Reagan's call for the withdrawal of all nuclear missiles from Europe, it could make a contribution toward better understanding between the blocs.

The ball is in Moscow's court. It is up to Mr Andropov to go through the motions after talking in such cordlal terms

The Nato countries, as part of their frank outlook, both internal and external, remain sceptical. The West is deeply disappointed by Soviet behaviour.

That is why mention is made in the communique of the oppression of the Afghan people by the Soviet Union and of Moscow's reluctance to accept a political solution that would end their



Bonn meeting

Making a point, American Secretary of State George Shuitz (left) with Chancellor Kohl in Bonn. Mr Shuitz was making a European tour for talks on a wide range of

greatly at odds with the Helsinki accords, of which the Soviet Union was a

Even the suspension of martial law in Poland is unlikely to alter the fact that the Polish people are deprived of civil

portunity, not only in Geneva but also in Warsaw and Kabul, of showing by is keen on detente and disarmament.

The key to understanding is in Moscow. Mr Andropov has yet to turn it in

(Nordwest Zeitung, 11 December 1982)

Uproar as American emergency plans are revealed

There was an Intense reaction at the Nato foreign ministers' meeting in Brussels to a report in a British newspaper that the Americans are thinking of transferring their European command HQ from Stuttgart to London. The report, in The Guardian, London, was promptly denied strongly in Washington and Bonn. But later an American forces spokesman confirmed that in a war, some of the command functions would be transferred to

The intensity of the reaction showed I how many sore points the Guardian's report raised.

For years widespread mistrust has arisen from claims that the Americans rope could not possibly be defended in

The Americans are also said to be planning to limit a nuclear war to Western Europe so as to shield their own citles from a Soviet nuclear strike.

The general implication is that the United States is pulling out gradually with a view to fighting, if need be, until the last European but to saving Ameri-

The transfer of the US headquarters in Europe would fit neatly into the pic-

The hue and cry it prompted show that the Nato foreign ministers in Brussels have painted too pretty a picture of North Atlantic realities.

Last August, when it was learnt that the Americans wanted to transfer US divisions hearer to the GDR border to demonstrate their forward strategy, Bonn was worried the Soviet Union might feel this was a provocation.

German authorities would feel it was a far too drastic step in the other direction if the Americans were now to quit their European headquarters in Stutt-

In today's missile age a few hundred miles one way or the other hardly matter. The optical impression is what

A US withdrawal to Britain could look like the surrender of territory that America cunnot hold on to.

If the deterrent is to be fully credible, thought must be devoted in time to an alternative HQ from which military leadership can continue to be provided.

That in itself is neither dramatic nor abnormal. If, however, the reports are based on a confidential Pentagon report it would be further proof of Defence Secretary Weinberger's ineptitude in dealing with his ailies.

A few months ago Mr Weinberger wanted to dissuade them from selling pipeline to the Soviet Union by threatening US troop withdrawals.

The foreign ministers in Brussels demonstrated a uniform firmness and readiness to talk. What they said was aimed mainly at the new man in the Kremlin, Yuri Andropov.

Their aim was to convince him that the only way to stop Nato missile modernisation is to meet the West half-way

The foreign ministers feel the missile modernisation threat aspect of the December 1979 Nato missiles-and-talks rosolution is still fully effective.

All that worries them is the possible strength of opposition to it by Western

This point, the one that annoys them, could encourage the Soviet government to feel that US missile modernisation might be stymied without counter-consions and solely by means of popular unrest in the West.

.. It will be less than a year before we know for sure who was right in assessing the pressure and counter-pressure.

Doubts and differences of opinion within Nato were adroitly concealed in the pleasing framework of a detailed Nato communique.

The North Atlantic pact is not so united as to enable one to rely implicitly on missile modernisation going ahead if the Geneva missile talks break down.

(Cleneral-Anzeiger Bortn, 11 December 1982)

Outsiders look for signs that Bonn is maintaining stability as the keynote

The circumstances surrounding the change of government in Bonn have caused profound alarm abroad. It is not the fact that the Christian Democrats have returned to power, although that is worrying some people who are concerned about ties with the

The event that is causing the most concern is the general election scheduled for 6 March. Many are taking it as a sign of weakness and are wondering if it will leave no one with a clear majori-

It is causing concern because the Federal Republic of Germany has long been regarded as a model of domestic

People have grown used to Bonn being one of the few reliable factors in world affairs.

Other European countries might vacillate but Germany was always reliable, predictable and consistent in its foreign policy.

There are other factors involved; the very fact that Helmut Schmidt was ousted although his government had not been defeated at the polls mystified a

Then come the disputes within the SPD; the successes of the Greens and their allied alternative groupings at the polls; and the doings of the peace movement. All are causing concern.

"Will the Federal Republic of Ger--: Itely?" the writer was recently asked by a South American.

Such doubts take us by surprise. We must, of course, bear in mind that the general public in more distant countries learns little about German domestic af-

Even among people interested in political developments in Europe, knowledge is strictly limited. So misinterpretations are virtually inevitable.

The ouster of Helmut Schmidt by a Bundestag majority came as a profound shock. Foreign opinion is at a loss to understand how a Bonn Chancellor held in generally high repute could be replaced overnight, as it were, by a man whose name one first had to learn.

This fact alone created the impression that conditions in the Federal Republic were at sixes and sevens.

ii If the outgoing Bonn government had lost its majority at the polls people would have been surprised but would at least have understood.

But the idea of a Chancellor being ousted in mid-term by a sitting Bundestag was so unusual as to create alarm.

to receive positive signals from the East, . Three other trends have compounded US monitoring stations convey a less matters: the disputes within the SPD. the successes of the Greens and alternative political groupings at the polls and Poland or Afghanistan. To use Mr the showing of the peace movement. Shultz's term, the United States wants

These trends are taken as a matter of course to have something to do with the change of government in Bonn.

In other continents the last TV news recent commercial quarrels in the West footage from Germany before the chanmust be seen. ge of government was in many cases the major demonstrations by the peace motance to the Soviet gas pipeline under construction between Siberia and Wesand the fethore years

The impression conveyed was that the Bonn government faced a powerful, irresistible mass movement.

In better-informed circles the success of the Greens, or ecologists, at the polls in a number of Länder has given rise to tion medium-range US missiles in Ger-

In a number of cases people have registered the fact that political stalemate has resulted in some Länder. The idea of a "hung parliament" is promptly ap-

The new government's decision to hold a mid-term poll six months after assuming power is taken to be a sign of weakness and people are wondering whether it having might not result in no one with a clear majority, as happened in Hamburg and Hesso.

This is what causes most alarm

People have grown accustomed to

This was all the more important as it seemed to ensure a high degree of political continuity in the European Com-

It has led to correspondingly serious alarm in case both Bonn and Western Europe fall into a state of stalemate and

The specific worries vary from country to country In the United States, or least in Washington, the big worry is that Bonn might be unable next year to carry out by the Nato resolution to sta-

With the engineer of the start of the

he transatiantic political climate

has eased. Relations between Bonn

The dispute over steel exports to the

United States has been settled. Presi-

dent Reagan has lifted the sanctions im-

posed in connection with the Siberian

tour, failed to bridge this contrast,

assessment of the Soviet Union's role,

Washington advises scepticism.

which is due mainly to differences in

While Bonn advocates an outstret-

ched hand policy toward, Moscow,

While Bonn is immediately prepared

America wants to see actions in, say,

to quit the signals business and wait for

This is the background against which

America may have given up its resis-

tern Europe but that cannot be said to

and again, is still against the scheme.

But under Mr Shultz at the State De-

Washington, US officials say time

something more substantial.

signify, US approval.

gas pipeline contract.

predecessor, Mr Haig.

and Washington have relaxed a little.

Elsewhere, in the southern hemisphere, people are worried that Bonn, and with it the BEC, might no longer be able to play a responsible role in international economic affairs.

This comes at a time when many countries, mainly because of pressing foreign debts, urgently need help, so it

This may all seem, to us, wildly exaggerated. It is due for the most part to scanty information and gross misinterpretation. But facts do not alone matter in poli-

tics. What people believe to be facts and the views they hold are equally im-That is not to say that the change of government in Bonn should never have

occurred. It was, when all is said and done, legitimate and in strict accordan-.ce with democratic rules. Nor is it to say that a general election ought not to be held in March, much though the idea might irritate foreign

Yet these views, encountered abroad, demonstrate the responsibility we owe to the world at large.

We must not, of course, overestimate

the international importance of TOME AFFAIRS derai Republic, which is a small at 10 ME AFFAIRS

in international terms. Politicians have at times by about the Federal Republic being for trading power. This has done harm than good.

It is nonetheless remarkable much importance in other conir placed on the domestic stability political reliability of Germany. andelsblatt

The prospect of either being for viewed in this light, the existent Bonn government capable of sof uncellor Kohl intends to ask the of even greater importance, and a indestag for a confidence vote.
risons with Hamburg or Hesse with wants to lose it.

Political stalemate in Hambaltaniens, that he wants to do this Hesse for six months or so is regular an election on 6 March.
but not a serious problem.

The Constitution does not allow the but not a serious problem.

A corresponding stalemate in tailor to dissolve parliament him-would be a political catastrophe, heldent Carstens is expected to cially because of the deep uncer to the proposal for a no confidennow tension has mounted in the standard mean that he would dissolve The Federal Republic must at a ment within 21 days, and the way

remain capable of action beyond the open for the election.

March, if only because of its Consequention now is: what can the Market responsibilities (Bonn will ament do in the interim between the Council of Ministers in the solution and an election? miaker government has full sco-

One can but hope that voten whiten under the Constitution, but preciate this need and ensure that I makes full use of this scope Bonn government is given a clear dikal question that this govern-

If the election fails to produce standestag continues to exist and result the major parties must spore wafter its dissolution — as con-the responsibility they hold Any is it all might be to the man-inthe responsibility they have not the responsibility they have the constitution provi-Wolfgang Wie in 69 of the Constitution provi-(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 4 December the Chancellor and his cabinet

anything else.

ssumed its duties. "Why should we invest billions to stay arms build-up against the Soviet was they must, until a new Chanthe same time by means of further appointed.

The same time by means of further appointed.

The same time by means of further appointed.

The same time by means of further appointed.

has told the Federal President,

Europe is naturally keen to see 11 caretaker government's scope rican grain shipments to the set. And since the budget for fis-Union included in the overall could be likely to have already been An influential European school at the time of the dissolution thought feels the Soviet Union is between the under no obligation red more by food shipments that spending to the previous year's

It remains to be seen whether provision applies for any Ger-Shultz will return from Europe premment - regardless whether more than fine words and compile speaker one or not.

The world today is no longer with head of government, the

Due to geography and the no Due to geography and me use the secretary of the Free Decome to terms in peace with its parity, Irmgard Adam-Schwaet-ful Soviet neighbour, Western Francis, Irmgard Adam-Schwaet-has evolved interests of its own. They are more complex that A

ca's. Within the Atlantic alliance on polls, disagree: they say it give rise to lasting tension, tension win only about 2 per cent of the which we look like having to live to the Hamburg election this Horst Schreitter-Schwarzen on in March. (Frankfurter Rundschau, 9 Decemb

of course, voting decisions are the day, so, despite its preca-The German Tribung But even if everything runs well is not likely to come anywhere Heinz Editor Alexander Anthony English and 10.6 per Cent of the poll it got Georgine Picane

hindhe wool FDP voters are esall a maximum of three per cent. hals hope to recapture another Printed by Druck- and Variegahaus Friedrich For Rent who in 1980 voted for the Bremen-Burnenthel Distributed in the USA by CSU. These were essentially con-MOULTAINS. IND \$40 West 24th Street. New York in the Secretary Con10011
All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUNE represent Foliate who thought the Libepublished in cooperation with the adjoint state
published in cooperation with the adjoint state
property of the Federal Republic of German will be as difficult a task as
no way shridged nor adjointally redrained.

lose potential FDP voters who really want to leave their old the birch although they don't bitakdown of the social-liberal 建铁铁 医内侧下下颌

Chancellor can at any time ask the president to dismiss one of his ministers.

and win an election

Due to a 1976 amendment of the Constitution, the Bundestag, along with the chancellor, retains full rights until a now. Bundestag assumes its function (Article 39). Since a Bundestag must hold its first meeting no more than 30 days after its election, the present parliament will be in office not only after its dissolution by the president but well beyond the elections scheduled for 6 March 1983.

The amendment was adopted with a two-thirds majority in August 1976. It came about in the wake of a dispute dating back to 1972 when Chancellor Willy Brandt lost a confidence vote and parliament was dissolved.

Then, before the amendment, the Bundestag did not continue its work. This was assumed by a "committee to safeguard the rights of the Bundestag".

The parties were unable to agree on whether or not the immunity of the MPs should be upheld after dissolution.

There was also a heated dispute over the question as to whether parliamentary state secretaries should remain in office. Here, the views of the government parties (SPD and FDP) naturally clashed with those of the opposition for campaign reasons.

After all, the parliamentary state secretaries preferred to keep their heavy official cars complete with pennants.

All these open issues were settled by the amendment. What remains unresolved is the question whether the incumbent parliament must exercise restraint until the new Bundestag meets.

Making use of all the scope available to it, the opposition SPD could, for instance, call for constant "current affairs debates" in the Bundestag or demand that pending legislation be dealt with.

In fact, some opposition MPs have already suggested such a course of action, though the top leadership of the opposition seems to be rather reluctant to go along.

Another facet is that the coalition parties could turn every Bundestag session into a campaign platform while the opposition would be unable to have its chancellorship candidate, Hans-Jochen Vogel, use the parliament as a forum.

For one thing, he is not an MP; for another, even as leader of the opposition in the Berlin parliament he cannot enter into a debate from the Bundesrat

The Bundestag Council of Elders is trying to bring about a "moderation agreement" as soon as it becomes definitely known how the Bundestag is to

(Handelsblatt, 8 December 1982)

Hans Jorg Sottorf

How the government rates

Emnid Institute poll are dissatisfied with the Kohl government and 46 per cent gave it their approval.

The institute points out that a similar survey just before the change in Bonn showed that only 26 per cent were satisfied with the Schmidt government and 73 per cent were not.

It says that this time, a major factor in the Kohl government's unpopularity are SPD voters: 85 per cent disapprove the government despite the short time it has been in office.

Among FDP sympathisers there is a three-quarter majority in favour of the Kohl-Genscher government; 86 per cent of CINU/CSU voters approve, The institute says much of the appro-

val is in expectation of what might hap-Disapproval is strongest among the Greens alternatives (92 per cent). Simultaneous Emnid polls asked

about the most "likeable political party." Here, 40 per cent voted for the CDU/CSU, 34 per cent for the SPD, 3 ner cent for the FDP and 8 per cent for the Greens.

Eleven per cent said they found none likeable. Four per cent gave no opinion. Heinz Vielain (Wejt am Sonniag, 5 December 1982)

Germany's Liberals. Even if he secretly hopes that the Free Democrats will get enough votes to get into the Bundestag, there is no way he can help them to do so.

FDP question

a tricky one

for Chancellor

Nordwest#Zeitung

The CDU will centre its election

campaign around the Chancellor,

delmut Kohl. It has deliberately adop-

ted Konrad Adenauer's view that, un-

der the realities of the Constitution.

parliamentary elections have become in

It is natural that in this sort of cam-

paign, there is no room for a partner, in

But this does not mean that Kohl

wants the Free Democrats out of office.

He wants them in. But the question is a

tactical one; is it wise to keep saying so

Most of the indicators show that

Kohl will remain as Chancellor: But

If it is to be a coalition, the FDP first

needs to win the five per cent of the vo-

tes necessary to get into the Bundestag.

It is doubtful if, in its present condition,

This could change if the president

does in fact dissolve the Bundestag and

send the nation to the polls on 6 March.

(There is still a constitutional question

utstanding which leaves some doubt

bout whether this mid-term election

In their reports to the Bonn party

meeting, Heimut Kohl and the party ge-

neral secretary, Heiner Geissler, men-

tioned the FDP only in passing; and

more or less indirectly when they spoke

of a "middle-of-the-road coalition."

Gelssler even said that only the

CDU/CSU provided an alternative to a

This was a protty clear statement -

in any event clearer than what was said

before in interviews and public state-

· Kohl is right in more or less ignoring

the FDP. There is no reason why he

hould publicly concern himself with

Red-Green alliance,"

the FDP can pull it off.

can be held).

alone or in coalition with the FDP?

fact Chancellor elections.

this case the FDP.

There have been those in the CDU who suggested "lending" the Free Democrats votes to help them return to the Bundestag, but "these ideas "have meanwhile been dropped. As one CDU man puts it: "We haven't got a single vote to give away." a muota hoa trigger

"In kny event, the CDU/CSU-Have not yet won the election. It is possible that there will be a shift in the strength of the Bundestar camps that could creat te all sorts of problems. It in require by

If the Greens move into parliament instead of the FDP and if no party gets an absolute majority, the GDU/CSU would be faced with its greatest challenge ever, to beit beliefe fest millete be beite

With this possibility in mind, the conservatives are determined to fight for every vote - and they would be serving more more than just party interests: A stable government with a solid majority is a must for this country.

Karl Hugo Pruys er an . (Nordwest Zeitung, 7 December 1982)

Shultz's quiet approach might just work

George Shultz at the State Departpariment a pragmatic view has prevaiment is not as obvious a presence as his

What Washington now wants is so-Mr Shultz is keen to rely on tried and mething else. It wants America's allies trusted confidential diplomacy. The imto adopt a joint economic outlook topression he conveys may be a little borward the Soviet Union, an overall coning but his Quiet American approach cept on trade with the East. could well prove the more effective.

Talks have been held in the US capi-Yet alienation remains. The atmostal with the four European gas pipeline phere may have improved but views countries (Britain, France, Italy and the contrast starkly on matters of substance. Federal Republic of Germany) and with Secretary of State Shultz's Bonn visit, Canada, Japan and the European Comthe first step on an extended European

It has been agreed that a closer look must be taken at the problem within the West, although the project is a vague one, outlined in a non-paper, or unofficial document, and wide open to inter-

So different parties to the talks have gained different impressions, and views vary widely on what and how. The aim of Mr. Shultz's visit was to press ahead with the project as the United States saw it.

America would dearly like to reach firm agreement on something specific at the May 1983 Western economic summit in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Others are already balking. France, for instance, fears inroads into the sovereignty of its trading policy,

The Reagan administration needs agreement in place of the gas pipeline sanctions. At the same time Mr Shultz has adopted the East-West ideology of his lord and master,

President Reagan's views on the subject began with the simple question:

Polls bad news for the Free **Democrats**

All this presupposes a campaign aimed at presenting a businesslike image to the left and the right; in other words, a janus-faced middle-of-the-road plat-

The draft election programme that is to be passed at the FDP congress in Freiburg in late January seems to be rather clever on that score. See all the see The economic and social affairs part

of the programme, dominated by Count Lambedorff, draws a clear line between SPD and FDP while the domestic, legal and environmental aspects show some clear differences with the CDU/CSU: In part the differences are hazy and un-

Though the latest programme is not a political hodge-podge as some claimed of the 1980 programme, there are some areas (peace movement, Greens) where the party is trying to be accommodate

ing. And it is here that the programme is not convincing.

Election platforms are no coalition agreements, and the FDP is right in stressing this. It is quite unthinkable that, if there is a new conservative-Libe-

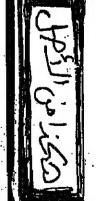
will be able to prevail on all its cam-paign statements — especially in legal and environmental policy. The Liberals are bound to clash with form of the anti-terrorism legislation. protection against data abuse (especially in connection with security agencies), aliens legislation and some aspects of

ral coalition after elections, the FDP

environmental degislation. They are also likely to clash over parts of labour legislation such as continued pay for employees in cases of ill-

Despite efforts to stress specific issues, the campaign will be straight-forward and simple - so simple as to ultimately boil down to a plea to the electorate to give the Liberals another chance to move into parliament.

Martin E. Süskind /Suddenische Zeitung, 9 December 1982)



Bonn opts for protectionism, membership talks, as Council of Ministers themes

Three issues will dominate when Bonn takes over the chair of the BEC Council of Ministers, in the New Year. They are:

 The attempt to curb protectionism within the EEC

• Membership Spain and Portugal

 The growing differences of opinion with the French government on trade

This has been outlined by Alois Mertes, Minister of State for European Affairs at the Bonn Poreign Office.

The harmony that was the hallmark of the Copenhagen EEC summit will soon end when it comes to carrying out the resolutions made by the Common Market heads of government.

The European Community faces a tough year both at home and in external

Bonn is to take over the BEC chair in January. Will the Germans be able to give the Common Market a greater boost than the Danes were able to do over the past six months?

The answer is urgently awaited in Brussels and Strasbourg.

Chancellor Kohl may have put great importance on European policy in his government policy statement. He may also have rushed to Brussels for an executive meeting of European Christian Democrats as soon as he was elected.

But signs of unrest have accumulated. Christian Democrats at the European Parliament in Strasbourg are surprised that contacts with Bonn have been so

At the European Commission in Brussels, officials were surprised that Mertes, had failed to put in an appea-

Social Democratic Euro-MP Horst Seefeld complained that responsibilities seemed not to have been allocated in

Some of these problems have since been solved. At a Paris conference of European Christian Democrats Helmut Kohl has sought to demonstrate his commitment to European integration at party-political level.

Herr Mertes has paid his opposite numbers in Paris and London brief visits. He is also due to visit the European Commission in Brussels.

. He has ploughed through the paperwork and reached the conclusion that European integration is hard work.

The list of topics brought back by the domestic market delegation to the economic and monetary affairs committee of the European Parliament is dishear-

It conveys an impression of everyday life in EEC Europe that is bound to put a damper on enthusiasm of any kind, w

terMention is made of failure to make headway on settlement of value-added tax on imports; of slow progress on 20 specific technical guideline prophals and of stalling on industrial standardi-

sational, Pagan and infiltred agest they are The pagenda also a includes. further powers for the European Commission. tax allowances for travel within the Community and the issue of uniform European Community passports and driving licences,

A specifically German problem is

border checks on individuals, buses and commercial vehicles.

Consolidation of the domestic market is more urgently needed than ever. US Secretary of State Shultz and other heads of department were due to visit Brussels for talks at the time of writing.

Their visit was expected to show whether there was any likelihood of a further transatiantic clash along the lines of the steel war between America and the Common Market.

Farm produce is the latest problem, with the United States fairly accusing the European Community of protectio-

The trend toward protectionism within the Common Market, especially in the agricultural sector, is one that has long reduced the BEC to a state of

It is, moreover, a crucial aspect of the second major issue that lies ahead; the membership negotiations with Spain and Portugal.

Bonn is extremely anxious, for political reasons, to see Spain and Portugal join the EEC. But their accession will cost money, extra cash that is not in the present Common Market kitty.

The two would-be newcomers to the EEC are largely agricultural countries. and their farm output will weigh heavi-

he European Community's agricul-

tural trading policy threatens to im-

pose a serious burden on the EEC's ex-

The background against which the

Yet powerful forces in the EEC are

keen to deliberately restrict farm im-

ports and to boost exports for all they

alarming trend.

thin the Thord World.

been doing.

This, viewed internationally, is a most

The European Community prides it-

self, in development and trade policy,

on having made the developing coun-

But on closer scrutiny its policy on

agricultural produce will be seen to be

extremely problematic. In this sector it

has merely set about redistribution wi-

The left hand, EEC agricultural poli-

cy, has paid little attention to what the

right hand, development policy, has

The Common Market has not cut

back its domestic output of the produce

for which preferential treatment was gi-

ven. It has continued to boost home

As a result, developing countries that were not granted preferential status

have been displaced from BEC markets.

Even worse, they have been subjected

to fierce competition from BBC exports

subsidised to the hilt. This is particular-

The European Community has thus

introduced a strong element of discrimi-

nation into its economic relations with

the Third World

to the Lome Convention and have close

political ties with the EEC are given

Developing countries that are parties

ly true of sugar and beef.

output with a will. it is a sport of

iries numerous trading concessions.

clash must be seen is that the Common

Market has emerged as a major agricul-

ly on the European Community's agricultural lovy system.

The French, Greeks and Italians are anything but keen on this prospect, which is why the French are stalling and would like to see this problem solved before Spain and Portugal join the BEC as full members.

Alois Mertes is reluctant to take sides in the dispute on whether this attitude is in the Common Market's best interest.

France, he says, is keener than other EEC countries on a European identity. In doing so it seeks to reconcile European interests with its own.

Much the same is true of the thorny issue of British net contributions to the Common Market kitty, which Whitehall continues to feel are too high. All Herr Mertes will say is that the

problem is one that threatens to poison the Community. France and Germany were expected to clash on all these issues at Copenha-

gen. They didn't. President Mitterrand made with explaining to Chancellor Kohl the specific French problems that arose from, say, southward enlargement of the BBC.

There is speculation in Paris that France's intransigent Foreign Trade Minister, Michel Jobert, who made life so hard for the Bonn delegation at the Gatt talks in Geneva, may be dropped.

Farm policies

crucial for

Third World

The writer, Professor Stefan Tengermann,

countries are put to even greater disad-

In the long run this cannot be to the

The development of a liberal interna-

In particular, the BEC hampers what

many developing countries, given grow-

ing protectionist trends in the industria-

lised world, feel might be the answer:

hilt the European Community is barg-

Despite the growth in overall Third

World, self-assurance individual deve-

loping countries still have difficulty in

prevailing with their own special econo-

mic interests over the powerful indus-

Thailand yielding to the EEC on ta-

pioca was a case in point. Industrialised

countries can exert much more power-

ful pressure, as the BEC has found out

to its cost in ties with the United States.

Community used to be pampered by the

USA. The 1962 chicken war was very

There are various reasons why this

much an exception to the rule.

In farm trade policy the European

ing into markets the developing coun-

tries hoped to work the

trialised world.

preference while other developing has been the case. US agricultural poli-

By means of exports subsidised to the

more trade among themselves.

tional economic order is bound to suf-

benefit of the European Community's

holds the chair of agricultural ecor

relations with the Third World.

So the signs are that Bonn and NEMPLOYMENT may be keen to avoid any further den on Franco-German relations

Twenty years after the signing of Wo fundamentally opposing franco-German friendship pact by moral de Gaulle and Chancellor nauer both sides realise that Europintegration can only be intensified the basis of agreement between and Bonn.

Views differ as to whether relative ely on close personal ties such at ed between Charles de Gaulle and rad Adenauer or between Valery (1864 1975) and 1867 card d'Estaing and Helmut Schmidt

The prevailing view along imployment is likely to be over Kohl's aides is that he and M. Mil millon when the figures are rand, much though they may differed on March 3 next year, just outlook, at least share one assessment to be some time, the Bonn goview of relations between Western will probably realise that this rope and the Soviet Union than the to be the average annual figure spective predecessors did.

spective predecessors did. Reflicial government projection.

Herr Kohl never tires of laudin faire would coincide with the interest in and open-minded attitude and report of the Council of interest in and open-minded attitude and report of the Council of ward. German affairs shown by an Advisors that assumed an French President.

So although the details are not seeingh saying that a more unfa-France and Germany share Europe figure was quite possible. In interests. Might some joint effort to a the Bonn Economic Affairs along the lines of the European Market for some time been more tary System, which was launched from that score than the rest of Giscard d'Estaing and Heart

Herr Mertes feels some such a discovered and a might result in security polley. The soft lighting unemployment to arrive at Franco-German coperation it seems as if nothing round of Franco-German consults in Bonn was meant seriously, has any more. All avenues have been explored and job-company to the security policy of the security bear of lighting unemployment. It is the security and the security and security and security bear any more. All avenues have been explored and job-company to the security of the discussion on ways and security policy. The security of the discussion on ways and security policy. The security is secured as a security policy. The security policy is secured as a security policy. The security policy is secured as a security policy. The security policy is secured as a security policy. The security policy is secured as a security policy agreed at the security policy policy

cy is naturally not free of protect

The waiver by which the Unite tes retained privileges under the treaty is but one instance of mil this context.

The crucial factor in ties withing begun, it is quite obvious EEC, however, seems to have been being the fundamental views are the United States did not want to be fundamental views are per European integration by inord

economic pressure.

European integration was clean that as an unalterable fact—
the US foreign policy interest. But the medium term. It argues
EEC farm tariff barriers were all the when industry is working
itially aimed at imports from the Unity, business is unlikely to States in particular.

tates in particular.

Initially the Common Market was able. significant as a competitor in exp farm produce to world markets. Le say out, argument runs, is

any more.

Politically, America and Europe deal, Among the advocates drifted further apart than at any the Protestant Church, the since the Second World War. Edit and many SPD politicians, against it, especially US agriculture it is breathtaking at times to see makers play with fire.

They think played about hands.

nakers play with fire.

They think aloud about hand, i would prove almost im-

of them do not seem to think much of the idea.

schools of thought

i in other words, 150,000 more

musi unemployment of 2.35

our Office this year has spent

This should rise to about

wat year if unemployment andicted. But the Labour Of-

a to make ends meet with

as a result of cutbacks in

the actual election campaign

the work is must be redis-

Earlier retirement, as envisaged by the Labour Ministry, would be modelled on a similar approach in the food and catering industry by the head of the catering workers' union, Günter Död-

The Doding Plan, whereby the low social security pensions of older workers who retire prematurely are supplemented by the employers, has the advantage of being reversible. To make up for this added financial burden on the employers, the younger workers have agreed to moderate their wage demands in theory anyway. This would provide a certain amount

of relief on the job market, but the benefits would be relatively small for

First, there is every likelihood that wage-related operating costs would rise. This is due to the fact that the remaining work force is unlikely to agree to wage cutbacks, as proposed by the Catholic sociologist Oswald von Nell-Breuning who said that it should be tuken for granted that if working hours are shortened wages would also have to be pared down.

Second, not every post that has been vacated as a result of early retirement can be filled by a younger person.

Even the politically fairly left-wing Berlin economist Hans-Jürgen Krupp doubts that shorter working times would provide much relief on the job market. According to pessimistic estimates, the relief would amount to only 20 per cent of the theoretically possible.

Third, the beneficial effects of shorter working hours would be the smaller the more difficult it proves to find suitable people among the jobless to fill the can-

Though more and more skilled workers become available as unemployment grows, the duration of unemployment is also growing, and this means that workers fall behind on the skills they once possessed.

As a result, further training and retraining programmes for the jobless should be intensified. But this would cost the state and the taxpayer more. In fact, cash has forced the state to cut back on existing programmes.

The objections to early retirement apply even more to shorter work weeks.

Part-time work might be better. According to Mannheim economist Eduard Caugher, some 60 per cent of today's full-time Jobs could be split.

the import or consumption of substitutes and soya products five important to substitutes and soya products five important to more substitutes.

Yet at the same time they substitute and industry. It is the same time they substitute and industry. It is the same time they substitute and industry. It is the same time they substitute and industry. It is the same and industry is up some of his work and pay. These who have to look after a family are not very likely to agree to it. The same applies to job sharing time when it objects? Is the substitute will depend on the cost of splitting jobs and the willingness of the employee to give up some of his work and pay. These who have to look after a family are not very likely to agree to it. The same applies to job sharing where one particular job is shared by two or more people.

Community really prepared to the substitute in the interection of the substitute of the interection of the substitute of the same applies to job sharing where one particular job is shared by two or more people.

Ciranted, a television cameraman whose wife also wields a TV camera might decide to share the job with her. A comple, both of whom are pastors, might also decide to take turns looking after their flock. So might complete both of whom are doctors. Mother and daughter could also decide to share the same factory job. Only a small percentage of the working population would

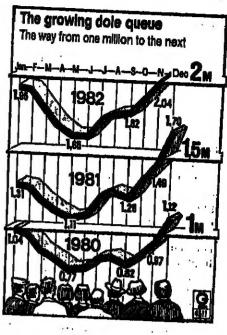
seriously consider part-time work and job sharing. Yet even these few per cent could provide some relief on the job market.

As important as shorter working times in the current political discussion are programmes aimed at providing the unemployed with better skills and measures that would improve the placement of "difficult cases"

Conservatives reject the present job creating policies, arguing that they achieve the opposite of the desired effect: worse instead of better growth conditions and less rather than more flexibility at work. They - like Rudiger Soltwedel of the

Kiel Institute for the World Economy call for "fewer job creating policies,"

Soltwedel's appeal is based on the ex-Continued on page 7



The jobless hold their first national conference

RAZIRAHEN.

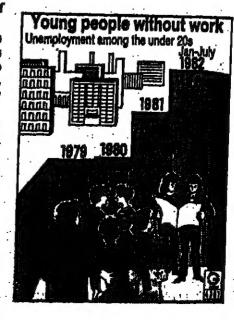
rmany's first congress of the na-Cition's unemployed has been held in Frankfurt. The 1,500 delegates from all parts of the country did not issue a communique. They decided instead to publish a report later.

Even though the delegates from 256 union, church and other action groups for the unemployed were unable to agree on a national organisation, they decided to appeal to the German Trade Union Federation (DGB) to accept the unemployed as members of individual unions. It was also decided to hold a major demonstration in Bonn next year,

The decision not to form a special unemployed union was as a surprise to observers - especially since the first two days of the congress seemed to Indicate that a motion by a Berlin group to form such a union would be adopted.

After hours of discussion the 500 participants in one work group agreed, however, that it would be more effective to call on the DOB to accept unemployed people as members and permit them to take part in its decision-making

So far, only teachers', sales staff, banking and insurance unions have been known to accept the unemployed as members. The DGB sent observers to



Discussions in the 14 work groups at the congress disclosed both differences opinion and a common platform. The final decision was that jobless action groups and other initiatives should cooperate more closely next year and launch joint moves.

The fact that the unemployment figure announced at the beginning of December topped the two million mark lent the Frankfurt meeting an air of particular timeliness.

The various work groups were not only concerned with organisational matters and practical self-help but also with social and psychological problems.

The jobless conceded that they also wanted to gather new courage. They said they were sick and tired of being maligned as malingerers and of being pushed around from one government office to another. "We're taking matters into our own hands now," they announc-

The initiative and self-help groups want to help the legions of unemployed find a way out of their isolation and close ranks against accusations of ma-

After some sharp criticism levelled against rationalisation measures and cutbacks, which they dubbed the greatest destroyers of jobs," they said t was time to "light the fuse of the social dynamite of unemployment." The motto for the months to come is "we shall defend ourselves."

Spokesman Frank Pharao said he was satisfied with the congress despite the fact that there was no closing are the first of a limit result.

"What matters is that the action groups of the unemployed have been strengthened in their field work and that there will be a much closer cooperation between the various initiatives in terms of welfare for fellow-jobless and future action."

He stressed that the jobless initiatives did not want to dissolve themselves within the trade unions but that they only wanted to cooperate with them.

Said Pharao: "The learning process in the DGB has already begun. The unions will step up their discussion of the unemployment problem.":

Albert Bechtold (Stutigarter Nachrichten 6 December 1982)



The Big Five hold secret meeting to try and stave off major breakdown

bank presidents of the five most important industrial nations (USA, Britain. France, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany) met in Kronberg near Frankfurt this month.

They did not face the press and no communique was issued. Why did they hold such a mysterious meeting?

Because several developing and Bast Bloc countries are no longer able to service their foreign debt on schedule. Their insolvency is not only a financial problem; it could also damage world

A country that is unable to raise a loan cannot import. And since Mexico became a problem virtually overnight. when it found itself unable to repay interest and principal on its foreign debt. the unthinkable has become thinkable: a chain reaction that could lead to a major breakdown.

Politicians have long seen themselves on the edge of an abyss. At the Versailles Summit in June 1982, the governments of the seven major industrial nations tried to find a cure.

But because of many previous unfulfilled summit promises few people believed that they actually intended to de-

At that time, the main industrial nations said that they would strengthen the position of the International Monetary Fund (IMF)...

The five nations whose currencies make up the basket on which the Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) - a kind of artificial international currency are based are the same that met in Kronberg. The intention was to help the IMF control the economic policies of its member nations, thus making for a bit of collective responsibility in the world's economy.

But what use is it if the five big ones cooperate while the IMF is short of money? Therefore the Kronberg meeting also dealt with ways and means of speeding.up, the IMF's supply of funds beyond the usual procedure.

Developments in the Third World are worrying! two oil price explosions created a dangerous international mixture of recession, declining commodity prices, high interest rates and too ambi-tious development programmes that were out of keeping with long-term financing possibilities.

But commercial banks — acting like leminings - kept financing these programmes, thus helping to build up mountains of debt. As Bundesbank Prosident Karl Otto Pohl put it: "At times. the banks were more concerned with expansion than with security wand profitability. It would no an entire it:

. ... Governments, banks, the World Bank and the IME were brought up short at the last annual mooting, of the IMF in Toronto when it turned out that Mexico was far from being the only insolvent

Ever since policy makers have been pondering ways and means of preyent-ing the collapse of the world finance system. The key phrase they came up with was copperation by all parties concerned." with the IMP playing a plyotal role, male and to magaliant

A initial measure, the Mexican 8989 tument was granted bridging, facili-



ties by American government authorities and a number of central banks via the Bank for International Settlements in Basle.

Short-term credits helped Mexico weather the rough patch before concluding a stabilisation agreement with the IMF.

The banks agreed to freeze their claims for the moment and the IMF has meanwhile agreed to grant an emergency credit of close to \$4bn. Brazil applied for \$5bn; and Argentina is in the process of negotiating \$2bn.

Through the Bank for International Settlements, Hungary was granted a bridging loan until the conclusion of negotiations for an IMF credit.

Many of the nations now writhing under their foreign debt will soon be queuing up at the IMF credit desk.

The IMF is anxious to help them restore their creditworthiness. But is it coupped to?

The idea behind the IMF is to make life easier for its members. It helps out with short and medium-term loans, repayable after seven years at the latest. The loans depend on current account imbalances that cannot be settled in the short term. The IMF itself receives the through its member nations. These contributions in turn depend on the volume of trade, the GNP and simi-

"Member nations can borrow up to one-quarter of their own quota with no strings attached, so the demandation of

As a result, most of the debtors owe it no more than 25 per cent of their own

The more a country goes beyond this 25 per cent, using credit facilities of up to 100 per cent of its quota, the tougher the terms imposed on the borrowing na-

IMF's ability to impose conditions that will force its debtors to introduce remedial action for previous economic policy mistakes is the basis on which the hope to prevent a collapse of the world's financial system despite mount

the Fund's own means of \$67bn are inadequate. But they are far from agreed on the amount by which this liquidity is to be boosted.

Most European Community countries would like to raise the quotas by 50 per cent to total about \$90bn to

· The developing countries would like to have this increased to \$120bn. They would also like to see the IMP do away with all strings it now attaches to loans. turning it into a self-service institution.

The USA has so far not been prepared to boost the quotas by more than 40 per cent. Bonn - as usual at international meetings - is proceeding gingerly. It is said that Bonn would like to see the total raised to \$100bn but that it would also go along with \$85bn, wedged as it is between the USA and the

Generally, the goal is to make America agree to a 50 per cent increase.

The quotas themselves say little about the IMF's actual ability to effectively help countries that suffer from persistent foreign trade and current account imbalances.

Not all currencies are equally suitable for credits. The Indian rupes, for instance, is far less suitable than the US dollar, the deutschemark, the yen and

the Swiss franc.

Despite seven quota increases (the eighth was negotiated in Kronberg to the point where it is likely to be finalised by next April) and despite credit agreements with Saudi Arabia and some industrial countries, the Fund's available means are limited — especially compared with demand.

In the first quarter of 1982, the IMF had \$36bn available to it in suitable currencies. This was made up of the contributions of seven industrial, eight oil-exporting and 15 developing countries. In addition, there was the \$21bn available to the IMF in the form of SDRs (which only central banks ac-

'As a result it had available to it some \$57bn in suitable currencies. Of this amount, \$16bn is out on loan, \$

5bn has been committed in the form of credits that have not yet been taken up.



Donald Regan, the American Treasury Secretary (left), with Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stollenberg at the Kronberg finance meeting. https://doi.org/10.1001/j.j.com/10.1001/

The Internation Monetary Fund

1 The fund has 146 members industrial countries and 126 de loping nations, of whom 12 and

\$67bn either available or comm Available funds have been book for the most for the most form in the past few years by special is littles financed by direct credits in an ence were between 8,000 and ted by national monetary authors in the steelworks of In addition, there are the grad city of Neunkirchen. Now all credit agreements with 10 of this of the industry are two steel most important industrial national englishmen (pop. 51,000) is the sective agreements, the fund can east city in the Saar, after Saurgranted credits of up to \$75h. He also resort to money markets. The whole state is paying the also resort to money markets. The depending on two industries, 3. The fund's top executive beautisted.

3 The fund's top executive bod sistes. the board of governors. The many problem is that coal and steel ment is in the hands of an executive Saar. The rulers of the two board, and the main policy matter decide what other industries body is the interim committee of the allowed to move in. members.

one way or another.

The remaining \$26bn would be disgan to fail in the mid 1960s up very soon if only some of the order 10 years later as prices plumtries with major foreign debts and lapan dumped cheap steel for IMF loans.

The IMF liquidity would also be set few months will be crucial sufficient if only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient if only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient if only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient if only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient if only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial sufficient in only a few of the more start few months will be crucial suffici

Whether or not the IMF will be kideral government in Bonn.

to play a greater role in the finands to play a

sal to create a special emergency in lack.

that would be re-financed as needed by just keep on getting worse and
the ten most important industrial altouble began in 1977/78; the
tions plus Switzerland to the tunk in clean, but there were storm \$10bn to \$15bn.

Among the topics of discussion whe family that had led the steel Kronberg was also the question to prosperity suddenly decided whether the special fund should to the business. Inade part of the general credit at Hunburg oil company bought ments of the ten industrial could of the equity, but the work force and Switzerland that provide the last the end was near. A Luxem-with credits of up to \$7bn under special to the end was near. with credits of up to \$7bn under's fic conditions: 201 20 1 Pitt les

agreements may, however, only granted to the participating l'icoun while those from the special to would be made available to do countries outside that group at the only under special conditions with The second prerequisite for gain thening of the IMF's role is realist meet. After all, once they find the selves in dire straits, governments more likely to accept the IMEs to

conditions for loans.

This was not so in the past in and 1981, it lent a net \$5,00n to no producing developing, countries of pared with commercial bank leads \$85bn during the same period.

In the past, the IMP and comme 1 who in Continued on page 8" 1th

Dying steel city looks for a future to forge

2 Credits are financed by meaning the payments. It has a total the Nachard Service Service of the payments of

whichen is the home town of the

Reman party leader, Erich Homaking for \$31bn in committed it and the East German papers re-one way or another.

The debtor nations would have a year had been a good year for prepared to accept unpopular tend and in 1975 a new, non-polluting garding their economic policies. The completed. The traditional The first of these will be hard to be added to the city displement because quota increases and in its place appeared a be ratified by the individual particles white cloud.

ments, and this can take years.

So far, only Bonn has taken a par DM120m plant was a waste of tive attitude towards America's par 7 hey wanted their old smoky

bourg company, Arbed, whose steel production had for years been helping to depress the nearby Neunkirchen works, stepped in and bought the plants at both Neunkirchen and at Röchling-

But the world-wide crisis meant that there was no relief. Japan was dumping cheap steel and all the traditional steelproducing nations were paying the

The steel magnates of the Saar have been taking their time looking for a way to solve the problem. They began looking in 1977 but have found no solution. The Saar has been living with uncer-

tainty for five years but there have been nothing more than a few orderly demonstrations and protest rallies. The main reason for the placid re-

sponse is that 55-year-olds are able to retire on good pensions. Others hope that subsidies from Bonn will save their

Still others have been pinning their hopes on working elsewhere: if they could work 30km away at another steelworks at Völklingen, it would mean more travel, but not unemployment.

Some have got jobs there already, but they are still gloomy about the future because it is a more obsolete plant than Neunkirchen's, and is being kept going

only through heavy doses of government money.

Bonn has been pumping millions into the Saar, and the state government knows that it would forfeit its reason for existence if the Arbed-Saar steelworks folded.

Bonn and the Saarland government have already risked and done a great deal, but the Saar man-in-the-street believes that many of the millions pumped in will benefit the Luxembourg steel industry more than the Saar's.

In the mid-1950s when the Saar bocame German again there were many people who wanted it to become a sort of model state for Europe. They did not want to be German but independent. This was rejected by the majority of vo-

History is full of ironies. The decline of the Saar steel industry has now made the state economically largely dependent on a foreign country after all --

The next few weeks and months will show the extent of this dependence and whether, as rumour has it, the steel crisis will lead to a disintegration of the

So what is to be done? Bonn Research Minister Heinz Riesenhuber has been unable so far to commit himself to

German production and consumption (enot noil!im Jsed by ndustry 1,000 tons)

Steel in a crisis

shifting Germany's only coal liquefaction plant to Neunkirchen.

The people of Neunkirchen would be happy to accept even such a risky project. But they are also prepared to accept social change and permit the city to become an efficient centre of service

The city council is now looking for new industries. Right now, all that the 51,000 people of Neunkirchen (and the 200,000 others in the vicinity) know is that they want to survive. So does the Saar as a whole.

If the Arbed steel works fold, some 30,000 to 50,000 jobs in the steel industry and related industries would be lost

Says one politician: "If that happens, we can auction off the Saar to the high-

> Gerd Meiser (Kleier Nachrichten, 8 December 1982)

Continued from page 5

perience gained in countries that spent lot of money on such policies, achieving very little (Sweden); and in countries that spent relatively little but imposed heavy restrictions on individuals. forcing them to adapt to worsening economic conditions, managing to keep the jobless rate down (Austria).

The opposing camp, represented among others by the Federal Labour Office, demands that more money be spent. These people fear that there will be a loss of flexibility on the labour market because of declining funds for further training, retraining and other specialised programmes for certain groups of jobless.

There is a kernel of truth in both arguments. Many job creating measures are an open invitation to abuse them and go over board in laying claim to

Economic Affairs Ministry experts in Bonn are convinced that legislation cannot prevent the abuse of social benefits in one form or another.

They say that the hope that sweeping job creating measures could actually bring about self-sustaining and profitable jobs is unfounded. The state, they say, could save a lot of money without facing charges of having neglected its

On the other hand, many of these drives and programmes are a must. It is, for instance, absolutely necessary to provide training and retraining programmes for the growing mass of jobless who either lack skills or have the

Even if job creating measures might not result in new jobs, they are necessary for social reasons. Handicapped jobless could hardly be placed without them. Moreover, these measures could also create certain public sector jobs that an unemployed person would have to accept when offered it. It is obvious that making it compul-

sory for the jobless to train or retrain and to accept public sector work would reduce the abuse of public funds.

Making it more difficult to abuse benefits and paring down some of these benefits could ease the financial position of the Labour Office. But it would not really remedy our unemployment

It is up to the government's economic and fiscal policy and to the parties to collective bargaining (who still do not understand the link between unemployment and wages) to create new jobs.

For the time being, job creating policies are growing ever more expensive and this won't change after the 6 March national elections.

Dieter Piel (Die Zelt, 3 December 1982)

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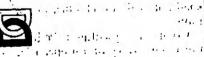
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ECTIVE

Signs that peace movement is beginning to lose its sense of direction

The German peace movement apnears to have lost some of its direction: it has grown too complicated. It may not be split, but it is sometimes confusingly organised.

The number of member groups has grown too large to count, and even the respective leader no longer all maintain contact with one another.

People get confused when events organised by different parts of the movement clash. The clashes are not always

It is now three years since the Brussels Nato summit decided on its missile modernisation programme for Europe, the event that gave the peace movement its major push.

In a year the need to go ahead with modernisation will be looked at again in the light of how much progress has been made at the Geneva missiles talks.

But the leaders of the peace movement do not give the impression of having any idea how to influence the missiles-and-talks issue.

It seems that they do not know how they will prevent or delay modernisation if the go-ahead is given.

And they have no idea how they might believably claim some credit if any progress is made at Geneva.

Moves agreed by the peace movement lately, at two conferences in Frankfurt, for instance, are unlikely to be of any lasting effect.

Petitions against missile modernisation have been launched (and in some cases are still in circulation) by the Krefeld Appeal group, by the trade unions and by groups in Bielefeld, Starnberg, Datteln and so on.

At a rough estimate they have been signed by about 10 per cent of the adult population of the Federal Republic of

Continued from page 4

den on strained political ties between Europe and America.

The European Commission has suggested gradually harmonising EEC and US grain prices. That would be most convenient for the United States.

Might America not be prepared in return to agree to self-restraint in exports of grain substitutes provided Europe kept to a grain price timetable?

The Americans feel a unilateral measure of self-restraint in maize gluten exports is out of the question.

EEC policymakers feel US grain prices would be virtually inconceivable in Europe without compensation of some

Viewed singly, neither idea stands much chance of political approval. In combination they might well be feasi-

ncultural trading policy on both sides of the Atlantic would then be pursued not against each other but in har-

Common Agricultural Policy, once the motive force of European integration, has come to be a burden on domestic relations in the European Com-

We must not allow it to wreak hayoc on external relations too.

, Stefan Tangermann, (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 December 1982)

These four million signatures or so have been fairly ineffective because representative democracy does not need to pay any attention to what is claimed to be basis democracy.

Individual petitions are not bound to be successful merely by virtue of having been submitted to parliament or the go-

This point has been made to the supporters of the trade union appeal. It will be clear to the Krefeld group, led by Petra Kelly and Josef Weber; they have intention of even submitting their lists of signatures to the Bonn Chancellor. Yet further appeals to sign the Krefeld Appeal were endorsed by the German Peace Society, affiliated to War Resisters International, and by the Committee for Peace, Disarmament and

They were made at the Frankfurt annual conference of the former, the DFG/VK, and a Frankfurt working session of the latter, the Kofaz.

Dr Helmut Simon, a Karlsruhe Constitutional Court judge, had a suggestion to make at a conference to prepare for the Protestant Church assembly.

Given this pointless competition for signatures he wondered whether a "consultative referendum" might not be held as a kind of plebiscite to put much-vaunted public opinion to parliament or the government.

It would not, as he envisaged it, be in any way binding on the government. Constitutionally, the referendum idea

is extremely dubious. It would be an expensive exercise. The value of the outcome would be doubtful too.

The only question that could be put would be whether the public was for or against stationing new medium-range missiles in Germany.

The peace movement would be most embarrassed if a majority were to insist on missile modernisation even though the government no longer felt it was ne-

Yet any question that might arise in connection with the democratic legitimation of a decision by the government, which is responsible to parliament, to go ahead with missile modernisation has already been answered in constitutional terms.

Chancellor Kohl's intention is to hold an early general election to gain a clear electoral mandate in favour of the Nato resolution.

One reason why he plans to go to the people is to decide whether there is to be a Bundestag majority in favour of the resolution without ifs and buts or a majority that takes a more ambivalent

The early general election, unlike the next regular deadline in autumn 1984, would be held well in advance of the decision to go ahead with missile modernisation, should it need to be taken.

A general election in March 1983 needed economic policy decisions.

In opting for an early poll, Helmut Kohl has taken much of the wind out of the sails of the peace movement.

use the election campaign to mobilise opinion against a further arms build-up. Preventing the stationing of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles in Germany,

The DFG/VK decided to lay down guidelines by which the election manifestos of political partiés were to be

So nothing will come of appeals by

The peace movement, like Chancellor Kohl, seems determined to get voters to commit themselves on the subject.

All leading organisations in the movement, including Kofaz; the DFG/VK. the Aktion Sühnezeichen, the national coordinating bodies of protest movements and political parties such as the Greens, plan to back the campaign to get local authorities to declure their areas nuclear-free zones.

Maybe they have chosen to because they lack confidence in their ability to win the day. Maybe it is because they feel most at home and most confident of success at local level.

Nuclear-free zone campaigns, which are often backed by the local SPD, are unperturbed by the point made by the Interior Ministers of North Rhine-Westphalia and Hesse.

The Ministers have pointed out that

They are a means of approach people one knows personally, pe

would not, unlike a deadline in autumn 1982, be overburdened by urgently

Kofaz was first to adapt to the new situation. It called on the movement to

said, was a matter of survival, jobs and

Social Democratic foreign policy specialist Karsten D. Voigt not to wage an election campaign on the missiles issue.

> suitable as fallout shelters. Such moves amount to more than

gunisers readily admit. "For people who have hitherto de di Herr Prinz is convinced it was no more than take part in demons no more than take part in demonstrations is generally rated higher tions and publicity work," it was publicity shapers nowadays, regardless of ted out in one paper, "taking part in the say given time. This eco-vil disobedience campaigns near it musclousness is not going to clear facilities is underliably a mile of the control of the c clear facilities is undeniably a mig so we have to bear it in

Protest groups will-tour bunken

in such activities whow that scuffles hown at Daimler-Benz since ten occur, although the authorities are been changed from time to said to be to blame.

"We are far from free of anxiety," total ally planned to munufac-paper continued, "when we bear by about 60,000 Mercedes com-mind that such activities represent tyrar," the chief executive says, modest encroachment on the constant we waim to sell to a new cateavailability of and access to and weapons demanded by Nato mills

"The brusshats are thus challeng respond directly.

Over the past two years there makes the eustomers are to be moto-been meetings in Bopn, Easter march to in the past have not wanted a music festivals, peace weeks and course it was too expen-less events sponsored by hundred; to because it was too big for thousands of supporters of the per

"Extra-parliamentary resistance emerges as the only, the crucial m

emerges as the only, the crucial method of bringing about a situation in the deral Republic of Germany in 1981 which the stationing of medium-ray which the hopes to merely show "what potential at this end of the range."

The province of the movement from Web who said that local leaders of the pays who was premiered and plan "Everyone does what he wants."

Georg Hell said the pays with the new model how-like of larger Mercedes will

local authorities have no authorities declare themselves nuclear-free zona ANSPORT

New Mercedes aimed at smaller-car market

peace weeks" held in November is redes have had to go on a wait-

A spokesman for the German Projection while other motor tant Church has claimed that about hours considered themselves the country's parishes, or between steady.

and 6,000, held peace week meeting it seems hardly any need for Aktion Sühnezeichen, a church of Benz to introduce its new monisation, plans to evaluate the output. Their range of cars without in the months of the seems hardly any need for the seems hardly and the seems hardly and the seems hardly any need for the seems hardly and the seems hardly any need for the seems hardly and the seems hardly and the seems hardly any need for the seems hardly and the seems hardly any need for the seems hardly and the seems hardl in the months ahead. It seems sue model is clearly ideal. conclude that the peaco movement is Stuttgart manufacturers went

hib plans for a new model, the a generally poor state. eter for the middle market. Confusion is the word for idea "direct non-violent action" called alongside other kinds of boycott, at kided to go ahead after the oil DFG/VK annual conference.

DFG/VK annual conference. Benz board chairman Gerhard The term is generally used to descri activities that verge on duress brow

re definitely going to manu-Mercedes with lower fuel con-A wide range of such plans was cussed at the Frankfurt gathering iming increase in petrol

The two-week "blockade" of the kn-Benz were not, he suys, clear weapons depot at Grossengie thy imminent consumer regulaeven though its success is disputed likercedes sold in North Amerihe United States.

diesel models, to US regula-Activities are planned in the west and not have affected Duimler-ahead at Nördlich air base, near Control and one way or the other.

gne, at a nuclear weapons depot a favelopments in the United Sta-Hamburg, near the US Rhine-Mais and us the direction the trend base, Frankfurt, and at Grossengster ing," he admits.

prices have since grown even subway stations the are claimed waste, but not as much as nau subway stations the are claimed waste, and fuel consumption has

faced perceptibly in the existing cussions and street theatre, as their as the decision to go ahead with premature when viewed in re-

Reports by those who have taken the W201, as the 190 has

year 100,000 Mercedes 190s are the Stuttgart assembly lines. output is eventually to total

the have previously bought

to vears, people wanting to buy now be considering whether the smaller model might not serve them equally

> Herr Prinz is not prepared to forecast the extent to which this might be the case. All he will say is that Daimler-Benz are prepared to be extremely flexible in the output of their various models. In the medium term he is confident

that overall sales of Mercedes will increase, by virtue of the new 190, from 450,000 to 550,000 a year. The 190 is also designed to promote

the Mercedes image. It will demonstrate that Mercedes are not just de fuxe models, expensive and behind the times. Even at a time when the price of

petrol is steadily increasing the Mercedes, it is hoped the new model will show, still makes sense. Technically, the new model is fairly

transmission at the rear. Der Spiegel, the Hamburg news weekly, promptly claimed the 190's chassis

conventional. The engine is in front, the

was the shape of things to come. Herr Prinz is not quite so enthusiastic. He feels the 190 is a classical Mercedes which strikes a balance between utility and comfort.

Its aerodynamic rating has been improved to 0.33, falling just short of the 0.3 of the new Audi 100. Herr Prinz says aerodynamics cannot be the sole consi-

Further streamlining is technically possible but would require intolerable compromises in other departments, he

But he is proud of the weight that has been shed. The 190 weighs 1,080kg, or 280kg less than the next model in the 'That," he says, "is a gigantic step

forward for us." The smallest 190 weighs the same as the BM2 323i, the larget model in the comparable BMW

But the BMW 323i has a six-cylinder engine. BMW say it is pure coincidence that

the same time us the Mercedes 190 was "We planned to launch our new models a year later," says BMW's Karlheinz Radermacher, "but stepped up development work to keep pace with

their range has been restyled at almost

US consumer regulations." The new US regulations have been shelved by the Reagan administration, but the BMW board in Munich decided to launch the new range regardless.

Richard Gaul (Die Zeit, 10 December 1982)



is it really needed? Dalmier-Benz' new Mercedes, the 190.

Hovertrain trials enter the crucial last phase

The Bonn Research Ministry has invested more than DM700m in various hovertrain projects since development began in 1968. But doubts are widespread that a commercially run hovertrain will ever run in the Federal Republic of Germany. Much will depend on tests due to start in February on a stretch of track being built between the villages of Lathen and Dörpen in the Emsland region, near the Dutch border.

Trials over he new 20-mile stretch of I track marks the end of the programme to test various high-speed hovertrain designs.

The Bonn Research Ministry decided in 1978 in favour of the electromagnetic principle in its quest for a high-speed mass transport system for passengers and high-grade freight.

The hovercraft principle has been dropped. So has the electrodynamic principle. The electromagnetic principle was patented in Germany in 1937.

The power of attraction between electromagnets in the railear and along the track is computer-set to ensure that the two stay a steady centimetre apart.

The train thus appears to hover on this once-centimetre chink between it

The railear supports perch on top of the monorall track. They surround it virtually on all sides, and when the magnets are switched off the car's runners settle on the track.

Power is provided by a linear electric motor that also functions as a brake. The hovertrain can reach top speeds of up to 250mph over long distances.

The system that is first to be put through its paces on the new track will be the Transrapid, designed and built a consortium headed by Messerschmitt-Bolkow-Blohm (MBB).

Preliminary trials will be completed by next October, Further tests will be

run by a company whose shareholders include the Bundesbahn and Lufthansa. Bends and inclines are being built into the track to simulate practical

The hovertrain is envisaged as an intercity link or airport access system over distances of up to 60 miles and at speeds of up to 200mph

It may also be used as an international link between European conurbations, over longer distances and at speeds of up to 250mph.

The experimental track will be 31.5km (about 20 miles). Its first stage is 20.6km (about 13 miles). It runs on pre-Subricated concrete pylons at intervals of between 20 and 37 metres.

It will comprise a high-speed section and a bend with a radius of 1.690 metres, plus (in the final stage) a narrower

The experimental hovertrain consists of two sections. It is 54 metres long, 3.7 netres wide, 3.9 metres tall and weighs

It will run experimentally for a maximum 18 hours a day, regardless of temperature, wind, rain or snow. Test data will be computer-evaluated

and take into acount functioning, safety, reliability, noise, maintenance, servicing and passenger comfort. The train must accelerate smoothly. The new system of points must be thoroughly tested to ensure there are no

udden jerks. Points will not cross in the conventional manner; they will bend. It is a complicated system that needs extensive

The first stage of the experimental track is expected to cost DM422m. By the end of this month orders totalling DM25m will have been placed with lo-

This is extremely important in a depressed area near the Dutch border, The hovertrain project will also, MBB say, emphasise Germany's lead in this node of transport.

Other countries are also active. Brinin, France, Canada, Russia, and, especially, Japan are working hard on rival projects. All over the world theoretical and ex-

perimental research and practical trials are in progress. The shape the hovertrain may take will depend on the results of the trials

and on the cost of the project. ... But none the countries that are work! ing on hovertrain projects want to full behind and allow others to reap the be-Gerhard Taube

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sorintageblatt, 28 November 1982)

Continued from page 6 banks operated in different markets. The IMP borrowers were countries whose access to international money markets was barred because they had wrecked their credit rating. They therefore had no choice but to put up with

countries that were not yet at the point where they had to accept the IMF's res-

The IMF will continue to play a quantitatively limited and qualitatively important role in the field of internatio-

the IMF's tough terms. The banks made their credit deals in

nal finance. Even if the IMF's liquidity is boosted

(which would also boost international

liquidity and hence inflation), the quali-

IMF invariably insists that anti-inflationary measures be introduced and this, in turn, improves the borrower's ability to repay the debt.

As a result, it would make sense if obtain additional credit from commercial banks. Without this, the lender's money would go into a bottomless pit.

(Dia Zeit, 10 December 1982)

Emergency finance meeting

ty of its credit would still remain more important than the quantity. IMF's stringent economic guarantees that its debtors will tighten their econo-

commercial banks and the IM Peoperated closely. A country that has accepted the IMF's rescue programme for its economy would also have something akin to a seal of approval with which to

Rudolf Herit

Since all this activity has failed to the solution of the price, at least complish anything whatever there is the typect to gain customers among the typect to gain customers among



LENVIRONMENT

Coordinating body tries to resolve differences of protest groups

The BBU, or national coordinating body of environmental protest groups, was launched 10 years ago.

It celebrated the anniversary in such a level-headed, businesslike manner that it seemed happy its teething troubles were over.

The general assembly was held in a canary-yellow comprehensive school in Hanover, a factory-like building that did not lend itself to demonstrations of pride in what had been achieved.

A degree of satisfaction was the most that could be said to have been voiced by the 100 or so delegates.

They were satisfied that the organisation had succeeded in keeping together and emerging as a factor in environmental policy that parliaments and the authorities could no longer ignore.

The BBU office has moved from Karlsruhe to Bonn (and the organisation does not amount to much more than an office). The move testifies to

It is a self-confidence BBU officials have long felt but one that is not shared by many protest groups affiliated to it.

They still sense the contradiction between a spontaneous, local and one-off protest group and a central organisation, no matter how loosely organised it

They are worried that people at the



top might lose contact with the grass roots, the rank and file.

But after 10 years of work there is a growing realisation that both local activities and countrywide campaigns are

As one delegate put it, it was high time the organisation abandoned short trousers and donned its first suit and the change brooked no further delay.

The BBU was keen to establish a wide-ranging alliance of all extra-parliamentary forces. It had long abandoned the narrowly-based platform of an anti-nuclear power movement.

In its progress toward what Jo Leinen, spokesman for the executive committee, called an ecological and alternative movement the BBU increasingly reflected the public debate.

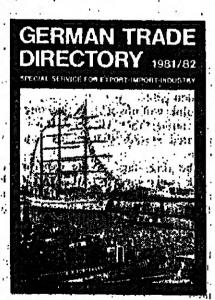
The debate on the future of industrial society had only just begun in earnest.

All constituent groups will not choose to follow the BBU in this direction, but there have always been groups that resigned membership and others that took their place.

The BBU has never led from above: it has never been more than a letter-box

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or central information service for individual groups, and the groups have taken care to ensure that was how it re-

That is why there is little point in vondering how many members the BBU unites. It has access to about 1,050 groups with a combined membership of roughly 300,000, but it cannot mobilise

What individual groups do is entirely for them to decide, and they are keen to retain their independence.

By no means all environmental groups are affiliated to the BBU. More are affiliated to it in the south, less in the north of the country.

The protest groups are legitimate colitical offspring of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in keeping Willy Brandt's promise to "risk more democracy."

But they have chosen to aim at a somewhat different, more grass-root democratic interpretation by which greater importance is attached to group independence than to the weight carried by a large organisation.

Where a specific objective is at stake, such as an autobahn, a chemicals factory or a kindergarten that is needed, this ndependent status makes sense.

But major, supraregional issues, from atmospheric pollution to waste of ground water, call for organised activity at state or national levels

This need runs counter to the origins of the protest group movement, which began as a spontaneous reaction by individuals personally affected.

The anniversary conference dealt, against this background, with three issues: topics, the crisis in connection with forms of activity and the question: What has been accomplished?

There can be no doubt that classical environmental issues will continue to be dealt with, but they alone are no longer

Experts needed

"Acid rainfall is an environmental hazard that actually exists, but what about genetic engineering, the potential hazards of which can but be imagined (albeit without much difficulty)?

The protest movement can no longer manage without expert opinion and specialists, and the gap between those who are conversant with the facts and those who carry out the groups' activities grows ever-widet.

form of activity outlived its usefulness? A majority felt it had not, but was aware of the problems that arose from the participation of "autonomous groups."

These are groups that are prepared to use violence, whereas the BBU strictly insists on non-violence. When and where is the line to be drawn?

Do new forms of non-violent action exist that might have a wider public ap-

About 1,800 demonstrators against the new runway at Frankfurt airport look like facing criminal proceedings that could easily lead to suit for damages or payment of the cost of sending in

Ought the BBU to keep its view HE ARTS self on this risk of the right to de trate being undermined by goven cash demands? Or should it see in a civil rights movement?

19 December 1982 - No. lik 1864 - 19 December 1982

"In 10 years we have made p conscious of the environm chaos," said Inge Ammon, who w elected to the executive committee

"But in future," she added. " not just accuse; we must outline fic solutions."

True enough, environmental ness has been heightened, So. enough, has the uneasy conscir ecological offenders. But the BBU has failed to achie

breakthrough to a generally acception, 1888-1978, remains unbeatecological viewpoint.

Greens, although a benevolent vie intreamont.

protest groups and even from the sayday, so abrupt that it cut out itself, but the BBU would prefer adaptorical level of comparison, be identified with the Greens. Light, antiquarian educational level. The Greens, after all, are felt as about effect. be identified with the Greens.

have accomplished everything they are were the characteristic features mised. Some BBU members are alreachingo's paintings, features that saying they feel themselves to be a mito set them aside from comparirective to the Greens.

violent, non-partisan, extra-parlia pre objects in startling perspective tary movement. This definition betrays uncertaintencholy.

and the change of power in Bonn plantposed romantic dissatisfaction only a minor part.

Nearly overyone in the moved says a colder wind is now blook that it is supported de Chirleo. Some are firmly convinced the Chiriten an outsider, in Parls from tian and Free Democratic coalide is 1914. He appreciated his disdetermined to impose legal restricted in the BBU.

In point of fact, however, the professional and the country is a suffering from the country is a suffering from the country is a surrealists as quences of their own success.

The BBU has grown so large and for nothing did they describe fluential, indeed popular, that it may be the surrealists the paintings.

The BBU has grown so large and not nothing that they describe fluential, indeed popular, that it was list encounter with the paintings fortably senses an obligation to see Chico, an Italian who grow up in even more.

It feels duty bound to be even ally felt it opened their eyes for the successful and not to disappoint with or, as Aragon succinctly put members.

bers of protest groups.

be they students or tenants, and

But no-one yet knows how to dericel." without becoming a lobby or a patranealistis programmatically put political auxiliary and without for like on a pedestal, and that was ing the character of the movement. Has Ernst, referring both to his

Represies were later to react just

long progressed from environment would be little point in outlinconservation to ecology and political conflict again had it not assumit deals with missile modernist employs in art history.
the peace movement, upholding and major, Munich exhibition, comfending democratic rights, sold tover 90 paintings and 100 drawwith the victims of Bonn spendings by de Chirico, provides striking
be they students or tenants, and wes.

structures in the economy and sools ske the New York version in the Outsiders are less in doubt sim of Modern Art, which by conmembers that it will succeed in conting on metaphysical painting to terms with the change.

Horst Bleeking exhibition tries to upgrade his

De Chirico: a longing for unknown horizons

cription of the painter Glorgio but forgotten:

It has no desire to have dealing rives between Florence and the political parties, preferring to ster liking and meditates, with a touch of them. This even applies to hopenhauer, between Paracelsus

Many Greens come from the ranging and the abrupt encroachment of

This they owe to their status as a metaphysical painting featured as living configuration of longing

stality into a poetry of latent hor-

ton called the objet-

The BBU is so at a loss as to when an and to his role as a precursor, go from here that it no longer produled him.

proud of what it has accomplished to too, was how he was portrayed

Several million ordinary people soup photos of the magazine Lu engaged in practical politics as a mile Surréaliste.

Many preferred as a result not to distingly to de Chirico's betrayal, as established political parties but if awit, of his early work.

more, especially young people, to alight into art history, his return an alternative to resignation and limits and his essay in Valori plastici ference. In criticising shortcomings of the willing traditionalist art within the tem they have stabilised the system work of the Novecento group, led point they are not so happy to hear ally to Breton's excommunication their influence on the paties thin.

is why some BBU members are ketters, it was a traumatic experience the idea of functioning as a Bonn spice he sought compensation by ronmental lobby.

All this is to be discussed next years hate-filled tirades against moa strategy conference. The BBU

But it is a half-hearted attempt that carries little conceptual conviction, and for some inexplicable reason 1935 is taken as a turning point.

The full rooms hung with his metaphysical painting are followed by an eclectic and scaled-down appendix that can hardly be said to succeed in even posing the crucial question.

Historically, the crucial question is that of the relationship between continuity and de Chirico's break with his

The Nietzsche quotations listed in the catalogue and the abundance of facts and individually illuminating iconographical analyses are not much help ei-

They run a risk of making de Chirico's paintings appear nothing but riddles, unless, that is, one is prepared to accept an interpretation that is a hopeless mess even in historical terms.

In this connection light is shed solely by Christian Derouet's brilliant and well-founded work on de Chirico's neo-Baroque gladiator series.

This is even though it evidently runs counter to other writers by implicitly confirming Rubin's view, and Rubin's spirited plea for prime importance to be attached to de Chirico's early work is determinedly and convincingly seen in the context of modernity.

Yet the gradiose series of portraits at the Munich exhibition shows that de Chirico, while styling himself with increasing insistence and virtuoso painting a tragic seer and thinker and a monumental figure, retained a vivid capacity at least us a painter of pathetic ges-

His love of riddles, here conjured in inscriptions, all too often ends in empty rhetoric. Where de Chirico curlier allowed what Bro-

solely in capital lettors. In his metaphysical painting the ambivalence of petrification and life, expressing a conflict situation specific to the cra, shows how the painter's ego has by grown allen to him, along with the world, it features wide and empty squares lined by arcades in deep shadow and by walls that time and again hide what is behind them from view. On them monuments and liny schematic humans, toy-like train shapes and clocks convey the effect of hermetic ciphers from an inner world ojected outward ly. Like his tailor's dummies, manikins and, as it were, physiognomically. throttled masks, they are images of a final i

funtôme to speak,

the riddle remains

mainly objectivised world. The emotional overvaluation of distorted objects that appear condensed and split up at one and the same time, as in a dream, is the result of a melancholy view. De Chirico, in his own words, was possessed by a longing for unknown horizons.

The melancholy disposition has long included a love of geometry, and this love is ever-present in de Chirico's

It is literally embodied in his metaphysical interiors with their unstably interspersed angles.

What with irritatingly interspersed sticks of sugar candy, plaited confectionery and geographical maps, they convert the studio picture of old into a mysterious still life.

Where pictures of disused factories are included, quotation-like, the anachronistic role of art in an industrial soclety is also described.

Where the gods are dead, art becomes the refuge of metaphysics.

De Chirico's imagination is fired by the seemingly emblematic symbols of advertising, unexpectedly ranked alongside antique busts of Apollo to mark a break between the ancient world and the present.

As objects stand still, historic discontinuity seems to part company with time

De Chirico's longing is for the lost world of ancient art and mythology. It keeps alive a painful recollection of childhood.

One is reminded of Freud's psychoanalytical interpretations of ancient myths and Aby Warburg's interpretation of antiquity.

.The broken topicalisation of antiquily, reminiscent of Arnold Bocklin and Max Klinger, stands in tension with the everyday world of objects.

At the time, de Chirico withstood the tension, forestalling a backward-looking romantic empathy with the past. De Chirico ends by drawing a con-

clusion from a conflict that came to a

head in the 19th century, being striking-

ly put by Karl Marx, who asked: "

th De Chirico's 'Le muse inquitanti'; 1917, a face mate



(Photos: Catalogue Where is Vulcan in comparison with Robert & Co., Jupiter in comparison with the lightning conductor and Hermes in comparison with the Crédit mobilier?....

"Is Achilles possible alongside powder and lead? Would the Iliad be conceivable alongside the printing press and printing machinery?

"Do singing, sagas and the muse not necessarily end with the age of print, with the end of essential prerequisites of epic poetry?"

From this anachronistic relationship noted by Marx, de Chirico develops his new poetry, although he would have been unlikely to arrive at a style of his own had it not been for his encounter

with the Paris avant-garde. - His-Chinese puzzle with perspective recreating the spatial illusion of the Renaissance, only to dash it by abruptly combining, several vanishing points, would have been inconceivable without the schooling provided by Cubism...

So, as Soby and Rubin have shown. would his decision to dispense with uniform lighting and corresponding body

But where the Cubists simed at a reflection on modes of portrayal and sought to demonstrate the difference between fact and fiction of painting, what de Chirico alms at is a mode of expression.

The staggering irrationality of his rooms, vanishing into the background and their suddenly turning, serves to make matters mysterious and seem bereft of location, and gravity. De Chirico's pictorial world lacks

dows live lives of their own, like Peter Schlemihl's in Chamisso's Romantic Even colours are seen in identica contrast near and far; starkly contrast-ing directions of movement block each other as in a trauma.

stability. Scales are broken and sha-

De Chirico turns into a motif of paralysis, what the futurists were to see as the quintessence of a new aesthetics, the celebration of speed and technology.

His locomotives and ships may gather steam but they are also rigidly immobile. In this perspectivisation of anxiety de Chirleo reflects the shadow of the First World War.

Monika Steinhauser (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung 1982)

De Chirleo catalogile la avaltable from



Persistent alcoholism given as reason for not legalising soft drugs

Drugs such as cannabis and LSD are not quite as popular as they were in the 1970s, a Munich conference has

But socially acceptable addictions. such as alcohol caused as many problems as ever. There was, therefore, no case for easing restrictions on soft

Christiane P., now a budding pop singer, is no longer the 15-year-old cover girl most Germans associated with heroin addiction a few years ago.

Her tale, that of a West Berlin addict in her early teens who, unlike many of her friends, kicked the habit, was serialised in *Stern* magazine.

. It sold well as a book and the film version of Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo (We Children of Zoo Station) was also seen by many.

Christiane F.'s name was a household word that has now almost been forgotton. It is just as well: it will never be known how many young people her tale must have encouraged to follow in her

It would be best if magazines which claim to feature such stories for educational purposes were to steer clear of, say, the glue-sniffers of Berlin or Colo-

They would again be to blame for popularising drug addiction to epidemic proportions.

Drugs are an unsolved problem that cannot simply be reduced to spectacular instances of institutional failure such as lay behind the dead Frankfurt fixer whose tale was recently told on an TV current affairs programme.

The problem cannot be limited to drugs generally accepted as narcotics in society today, to hallucinogens such as LSD, cannabis, cocaine and the opiates. Branding them as illegal merely made it easier to take others less seriously, lawyer Arthur Kreuzer told the 34th annual conference of the German Social Paediatrical Association in Munich.

Alcohol was one such alternative that needed to be taken seriously, both because its use was so widerspread and because of the effect it had on individuals and society.

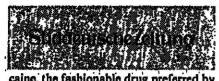
Criminal activity in connection with alcohol was, he estimated, more widespread than crime in connection with parcotics.

Educationally the distinction in law between cannabis and alcohol made no sense, but that was not to be taken as a plea for easing restrictions on soft

We already have a whole range of difficulties with alcohol to deal with, said pharmacologist Wolfgang Forth. There was no need of yet another narcotic to be socially integrated.

Instead of debating whather cannabis ought to be made more freely available we ought to be wondering whether "we have nothing better to offer young people than the freedom to indulge in undreams, in a state of intoxication." The drug scene has eased off a little, international statistics show. This impression was borne out by a number of papers at the Munich interdisciplinary

spaintence. His declined in comparison with the 1970s in Germany, which cannot be said of heroin or co-



caine, the fashionable drug preferred by the creative upper class. A trend has been apparent for the

past three years in the United States too. There has been a slight decline in hashish and opiate consumption.

Horoin consumption has likewise declined slightly lately in the US. There also has been a substantial drop in the market for LSD and angel's dust.

And there is a change in the reasons given for drug consumption. US youngsters used to share a joint to get high: now they claim to take drugs to boost performance.

There is a corresponding increase in the taking of tablets and pills, a habit particularly widerspread among wom-

The trend is borne out by 1973, 1976 and 1980 polls of Bavarian youngsters aged 12 to 24.

The Bavarian polls take into account the No. 1 drug, alcohol. An estimated 8.7 per cent of Bayarian youngsters are potential or actual alcoholics.

In the 1980 poll 11 per cent of the young people questioned said they had taken drugs; in the previous poli their number was 12 per cent.

In all three polls two out of three takers merely tried narcotics out. In this category, numbers have declined, whereas regular users have remained steady at between four and five per cent.

There has been a steady decline in both categories among 12- to 17-yearolds. Among 17- to 24-year-olds the number of consumers in either category has stayed at a steady 18 per cent.

Young people are definitely older than they used to be when they smoke their first joint. In 1980 they were 17 on average; in 1976 they were 15. d. a. ...

Among regular users the trend is even more marked. In 1976 46 per cent of addicts were 18-20 years old and 27 per cent 21-24. ness at a make differ edition

In 1980:41 per cent were 21-24 years old and 33 per cent 18-20, 7. 11 11 min

The drug most frequently taken is hashish, which in the Bavarian polls is listed alongside LSD, mescalin and id-lits/popularity: increased from two

thirds in 1973 to nearly three quarters in 1980, compared: with a decline in the

tics. The figures for these were five per cent for opiates, mainly heroin, in 1980, 11 per cent for stimulants, four per cent for sniffing and an unspecified but definite decline in consumption of LSD and

Cocaine abuse is on the increase, from two per cent in 1973 to four per cent in 1980, while in terms of drug consumers as a whole the comparison is even more striking.

Cocaine was taken by seven per cent of youngsters who had tried out narcotics in 1980 and by 13 per cent of regular users, the figures for 1973 being three and seven per cent.

Hashish undeniably continues to be the drug most people first try, although only five per cent of people who have ever given it a try end up as heroin ad-

Yet most of the estimated 30,000 to 70,000 heroin addicts in the Federal Republic of Germany began their narcotics careers with hashish, said Cologno sociologist Karl-Heinz Reuband.

' So there is not an automatic progression from the joint to the fix, especially as cannabis is not habit-forming in the sense of creating a physical addiction.

That is more than can be said for barbiturates, painkillers, heroin and alcohol, and even among heroin addicts there are cases or people voluntarily kicking the habit, as Arthur Krouzer

He felt pacemaker theories of all kinds were naive. By no means all juvenile shoplisters went on to become fully-fledged criminals.

Many young people who give drugs a try give them up because they get nothing from them. Such expectations and isappointments were as much part of a drug career as social background, Herr Reuband said.

Progress or access to drugs could only be understood in the context of young people's social contacts.

Those who were sociable and had friends stood a greater chance of coming into contact with drugs. But it would be wrong simply to refer to young people being led astray.

Progress was determined by curiosity typical of the young by the desire to gain personal experience even though the risk (of, say, heroin) was well

They also were impressed by and large by the drug scene, felt emotional

More people are leaving the bottle alone, says report

ore Germans are tending to drink Liess or not at all, according to a government survey; nine, per cent, of men and 29 per cent of women, compared with seven per cent and 20 per cent in a similar survey in 1973.

But the same proportion of the population drink alcohol every day or almost every day (55 per cent of men and 20 per cent of women) as in 1973 and 1978. A curious finding: the highest proportion of regular drinkers is in villages of fewer than 2,000 people. Yet the addicion rate is highest in cities and reduces with the size of the community,

The survey was issued by Irmgard Jata. A second of the contract of the contract

women are felt to be potential alcohoand the arrest of hearing keep and the

"The highest proportion of regular Continued on page 15

Karwatzki, state secretary to the Bonn Youth, Family Affairs and Health Ministry, in reply to a parliamentary question by Christian Democrat Werner Do-

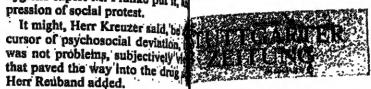
Since 1978, however, the number of potential alcoholics has declined. New 14 per cent of men and five per cent of

> be on help not penalisation. (Spodentrene Zeifung. 4 December

at Parsberg, a closed hospital in

were introduced to narcotics by find

This was the usual way in which cess to drugs was gained; it determands the further progress of young people ank armour secret Drug taking is behaviour that made all but Moscow hygiene expert M. Franke put it.



What made it so attractive was resecret weakness of the Leopard I tive experience of the scene. At ak was no secret to the Russians Kreuzer put it: "The dealer is felt the local coming off the usa friend, not a murderer." # lines in 1979.
Young people may be less incline rank's armour was faulty because

pression of social protest.

Herr Reuband added.

attribute drug taking to personal pixel makers had decided against lems, but these problems objects it through a special strengthen-

Drugs were taken, H. Solms said alls of the Leopard II armour was to give satisfaction but to avoid discussed on to the Russians. faction.

So the story of the affair has come Outlining a psychoanalytical citie through the trial of a man nation of addiction, he said it was and with spying for the Soviet tempt at self-treatment, albeit one a Dietrich Manfred Liebert, 47.

was doomed to failure, on the residut is said to have worked for the

tempt at self-treatment, albelt one in Dietrich Manfred Liebert, 47.

was doomed to failure, on the partiest is said to have worked for the the immature personality.

Instrum 1967, but for much of the The clash between a weak ego, a ras what is known in the esplona-with the libido, and a tyranical state as a sleeper.

ego was externalised and transfered teeper is a highly trained spy who certain aspects of society that were as inactive until he is needed. He tacked as being authoritarian.

This was inwardly depice, and and not to arouse suspicion. He demands of the superego were profit not be on any counter-intellited on to the "others," thereby pit effiles.

In penalisation from outside.

The addict fought on two fronts: I ding to the East Bloc once a year against himself and against the outlines training; and periodically world. He constantly wavered bether that the East Bloc once a year against himself and against the outlines training; and periodically world. He constantly wavered bether that the substitute. Liebert's radio rebellion and clinging on to other taked in an asbestos box and butherapeutic treatment: of the taked in an asbestos box and butherapeutic treatment: of the state of the court heard, must bear this in mind. An addiction that he court heard has learned that in 1972 he the lurch will seek via drugs the estate in fall apart even without enemy himself for fear of being overwird. himself for fear of being overwhele

by his own emotions.

Treatment must attempt to make its soon as the going became a bit positive experience of the drug of he told the Russians. He had got superfluous by virtue of positive of formation from friends employed tional experience in the therapy sool is steelmaker. Heinrichshütte, a lt must entail progress toward of he subsidiary near Bonn. rity for young people with psychic of played poker with them regularly cits resulting from a disturbed partitional pub and they told him all child interface.

Parents must thus in evitably be to sout the type of steel used, its ded in the therapy, and this was the ses, tensile strength and the profor by more than one speaker at the son methods. welding seams tended to come

But nothing was said by parent and through the poker-in-the-pub drug addicts, and no reports with a tes, of the armour used in the Leoby therapists on practical experience ill, one of the top products of the group work.

Therapeutic treatment of addict 1971, said the steelworkers, they no longer felt, as it was a few year milled behind in the production of to be a waste of time.

Protocol for the control of the manufacture of the manufacture of the control of the manufacture of the control of the manufacture of th Psychologist Lieselotte Frango then the Leopard I. that 19 of 30 young addicts who becompany would have to pay heafallen foul of the law and been he

ria, had now broken with the habit. Continued from page 14

D. Ladewig outlined findings of them is in villages of less than 2,000 aftercare in Basle, Switzerland Haling, addicts reviewed had broken off indicate with a population of over 1.5

ment, but 80 per cent of those Tim, Frau Karwa lasted the distance, 18 months in a people were addicts. This figure rapeutic community, either kickel hed as communities grew smaller, drug habit or managed to run their willages of 2,000 to 5,000 people

drug habit or managed to run men williages of 2,000 to 5,000 people lives.

It was, he said, a four-stage profiler cent addicts.

consisting of decontamination, bristalier polls had shown that one per the habit, rehabilitation and after of secondary school graduates. The crucial feature was to give addict her cent of students with university sense; of self-assurance. Genuine in the qualifications and five per cest must be shown in the individual def university students took drugs.

The emphasis by doctors, psycholog people virtually failed to figists, educationalists and parents in official statistics on misuse of he on bein not penalisation. Germans to spy for the GDR is always

General-Anzeiger Bonn: 1. December 1962)

delivery, so they agreed among themselves to skip the "glow process" in which the plating is heated to 800 deg. C 156 and exposed to it for 60 hours. This strength, Believing that "the Bundes wehr is too stupid

anything," they sandblasted the plating as it was and released it for assembly. The incident became known and a lot of people were fired, said Liebert, who then was a metalworker.

The Russians then told him to study mechanical engineering. Liebert, then 31, did exactly that, on a German government student allowance. He graduated, having specialised in material

Everything worked like a charm, and when he needed steel samples - allegedly in connection with his studies his card-playing friends were happy to oblige with discarded bits of the latest batch of armour plating.

He buried the samples in prearranged places where they were picked up by Soviet couriers and rushed to

The head of personnel at one of the Thyssen companies, testifying as a witness, explained to the court how Liebert was able to obtain the samples: one of

Rebmann, told a meeting in Bad Dürk-

heim that about 20 per cent of East

Germany's esplonage in the Federal Re-

He said that sometimes GDR indus-

trial buyers demanded detailed infor-

mation about production methods. This

Rebmann said that there are between

Their tasks vary. Some collect politi-

cal and economic information - as in

the case of former Chancellor Willy

Guillaume who provided the GDR leadership with top secret inside informa-

Brandt's personal assistant Gunter

Others collect industrial secrets, and

The recruiting approach for West

the same; they are either accosted dur-

ing visits to East Germany or are recruit-

ed through advertisements of seeming-

Secretaries, who are usually rather

productive sources of information, are

approached by male recruiters pretend-

save the GDR an estimated DM300m a

year in research costs.

ly innocuous companies.

ing to be in love with them.

1.500 and 2.500 ODR agents in the Pe-

deral Republic. About 50 are caught

was a common East German ploy.

each year by counter-intelligence.

public involved commerce.

Defrocked: the Leopard II tank. his friends was a material and welding seam tester who marked pieces that passed the quality test with a chalk mark. He was able to pass scrap sam-

The friendship between the two continued after Liebert graduated with a diploma as a mechanical engineer.

Now he could no longer say that he needed the samples for his studies; so he said he was working for an engineering firm that was developing steel for tank armour and was hoping to arrange

He asked his friends to help out with steel samples - especially the new HZB 20 and HZB 301 types. This is the steel used for the Leopard II's turrets and fronts, the most vulnerable parts of a tank. His friends were again happy to

In retrospect, it seems doubtful whether the Soviet spymasters were well advised to activate their sleeper.

Liebert admitted in court that the hectic life of an active spy was rather tiring and that he had grown sick of it after a few years.

Interior Minister Gerhart Baum called on foreign agents to turn themselves in, promising them more lenient sentences if they did so.

Liebert's initial idea was to make some money out of his 14-year career as a spy by selling his story to a major iljustrated magazine and a tabloid. But neither was prepared to pay the DM100,000 he wanted his memoirs.

In 1981, he turned himself in to German counter intelligence. The story he told them seemed unbelievable at first. The officers who interrogated him found it hard to grasp that it could be so easy to breach the secret of the Leopard II, the Bundeswehr's pride and

Hasso Ziegier (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 November 1982)

Beware of East Berlin agents, industrialists in the Federal Republic have been warned to be on their guard against industrial spies from East industrialists warned The Chief Federal Prosecutor, Kurt



Kurt Rebmann... watch the secretsry's boyfriend.

Despite the GDR's massive spying activities in the Federal Republic, Chief Federal Prosecutor Rebmann's main concern is still terrorism.

Though the danger from terrorism has lessened since 1977, he told the industrialists that it would remain a danger as long as certain groupings reAllgemeine Zeitung

sorted to violence in pursuit of their political goals." Independent terrorist groupings were increasingly prepared to undermine the

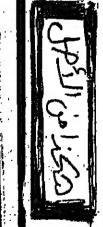
branch and thus also undermine de-Rebmann, whose predecessor was killed by terrorists in 1977, said that we must learn from the 1920s and 1930s and check any development that could

authority of the judiciary and executive

lead to violence and anarchy. He appealed to Western countries cooperate in the search for German terrorists. He regretted the lack of cooperation from some Middle East countries where terrorists are provided with a haven and training.

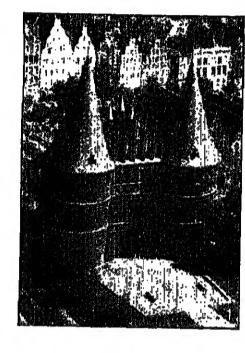
Germany must still expect terroriet attacks on people who are considered to symbolise society. The revolutionary cells were growing increasingly dangerous and the Red Anny Faction (RAF) still enjoyed support

Ounther Lolcher ielne Zeitung Mainz, 2 December 1982)



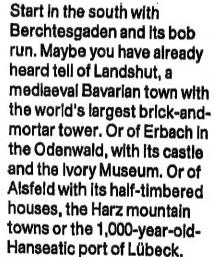
Routes to tour in Germany The German Holiday Route - from the Alps to the Baltic



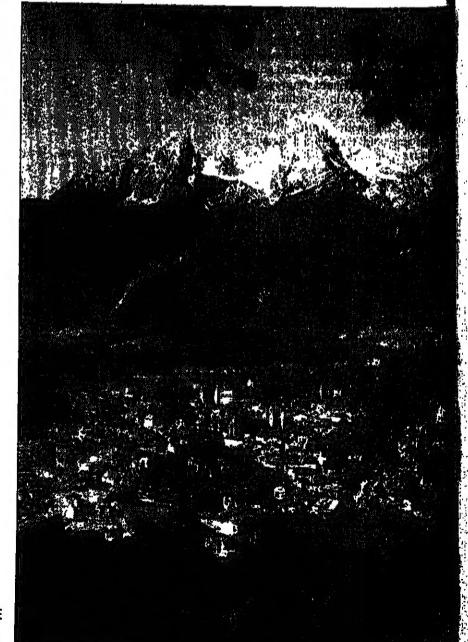


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Start in the south with Berchtesgaden and its bob heard tell of Landshut, a



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